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The Batwa usually have four or five wives.

One of the wives has a special name, inkundwakazi (the loved one, the favorite). She is thus called because of her qualities: her cleanliness, her ability to make pombe, her faithfulness, her careful supervision of the crops, the good treatment she extends to the abagaragu, the constant care she takes of the cattle, the friendly reception she reserves for her husband's friends, the care with which she has the master's orders carried out in his absence (1).

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1. The inyungwakazi is quite the opposite of the inkwundakazi. She is a wife without any domestic qualities, who is disobedient, even adulterous. If her husband does not repudiate her, he keeps her at a distance and has no relations with her.

As to the other wives, the husband, in speaking of them, simply says abagore banjye (my wives). However, the favorite may not give them orders. Only the husband can give orders to his wives.

Children of different mothers (or of different fathers) are on the same footing and considered as real brothers and sisters. [21]

[848]

Adulterine children belong to the husband of the unfaithful wife.

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Whether legitimate or not, the children are not treated differently according to their mother's condition. But if the children of a concubine show themselves to be unbearable, people will not fail to contemptuously call them abana bo mu milombero (children of the hedges).

3. Obstacles to Marriage

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1. Exogamy.

The Batutsi (except the Abanyiginya) and the Bahutu may not take a wife from within their father's family and clan, whatever the kinship. Parallel cousins (1) therefore cannot marry each other, but

1. Parallel cousins are those whose fathers are brothers or whose mothers are sisters.

Neighbors], " Zeitschrift für
Ethnologie, 1878, p. 378.

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262 [240] The less universal food taboos involving only a few clans can probably be regarded as traces of older, larger clan groups which later became differentiated and divided into sub-groups that were not always aware of their connection. This process is still going on. The Mulera clans of Bangona, Besezera, Bagirima, Bayumbo, and Badahe are said to be subgroups of the Basinga clan. In view of this, we can expect that further research on food taboos will enable us to trace more closely the process of differentiation among the various clans.

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562 Children are not affected by food taboos, but this is by no means the case with women. They are also bound by special obligations in this respect. For example, the Bahutu women of Kissaka and Mulera may not eat goat's meat, although the men are permitted to do so.

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784 The food taboos which play such an important role in the life of Ruanda are, however, only one form of the general taboos, abaziru (singular, umuziru), imposed on individual clans.

The umuziru of the Basinga clan is a black cow striped with white. The members of this clan do not drink the milk from such cows, nor do they eat the meat. They are very much afraid of soiling themselves with cow dung because it might come from such a cow. They buy butter in the market, however, when they are not absolutely certain whether or not it comes from such cows. Since cows of this type have no economic value for them, they always try to sell them and to replace them with other kinds.

This example shows that it is not enough to refrain from eating the meat of an umuziru. They must avoid any kind of contact with it. They have a certain regard, however, for economic interests. The useless umuziru cow is sold, and they are more afraid of its excrement than of its butter, which they use when they are not altogether certain of its origin.

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784 The concept umuziru embraces all the phenomena that are taboo for a clan. They are not actually sacred, for the element of reverence is lacking. In the case of domestic animals, the natives try to sell the economically useless abaziru to outsiders.

592 Economic co-operation was not limited to husband and wife. Their children, their relatives living with them, their clients, and servants participated in productive activities. Each compound was supposed to produce the necessary foodstuffs for its inhabitants. In polygynous families the husband sometimes made his wives work together in common fields, but this was not the socially approved pattern.

(c) *Procreational function*

181 When a Tutsi informant was asked what the people of his group
554 wished for above all, the answer came immediately: 'Children and cows'. A further question, 'Why?', disclosed that they were not regarded as ultimate values to be sought for themselves but that they were intermediate ones, the means to attain more important fundamental ends—power (*amaboko*) and reputation (*ugukomera*).

571 To be powerful is to be able to exert significant pressure upon somebody. In Ruanda society that meant, for a Tutsi, to be able to compel somebody to give him tribute in labour or in kind, and to induce assistance in support of his claims. To have many children was almost indispensable for this purpose. Girls, by their marriages, extended family connexions. Boys were sent while very young to the court of the king or of an important chief, and thereby re-inforced their father's influence very considerably. He would be able to know from his son what was going on and the king or chief would be constantly reminded of the father by the son's presence, which was considered a great advantage for the father. The boy could also increase the influence of his family by becoming the client of a powerful Tutsi. By this means he obtained protection and cattle for himself and his patrilineage. Finally the matrimonial alliances of his sons could create new links between the father's kin group and his daughters-in-law's lineages. To sum up, from the point of view of power, the significance of children was to provide cattle and connexions. Cattle, as will be explained

[556] later on in more detail, had very much the same function as money in our culture: to provide the man who owns it with means to exert pressure on those who do not have enough money of their own and thus need to get some in exchange for services. By connexions is meant here that type of relationship in which one party may require something from another under the covert threat of a sanction.

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

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Independent of their being instruments of power, children enhanced the reputation of their fathers. The strength of a lineage and its vitality were highly valued in Ruanda. To have numerous offspring ensured that the group ancestors would be honoured, traditions maintained, and legends transmitted.

Ambition for power may be a very fitting pursuit for people who do not have to worry about fundamental human needs such as food, shelter, &c. For the Hutu, the ultimate value was security which was achieved by getting for oneself the protection of a member of the superior caste. To secure this protection, one had to become a client, and therefore to be able to supply a lord with services in labour and goods. Consequently, it was essential to produce a surplus and not only what was necessary for the subsistence of the people living in the compound. Surpluses could be obtained only by work, and children were very important in this respect. As in most peasant societies, they were useful when still quite young in helping their parents in their work. Moreover, as in the case of the Tutsi, offspring could bring supplementary protection and wealth to the compound by their ability to obtain cattle and connexions.

The preceding account might give the impression that for the Ruanda children were just means to their ultimate value of power, fame, security. This would be very misleading as they enjoyed having children simply because they liked children. This is not to question the genuineness of their affection for their offspring. I want only to stress here the social functions of children in this particular society.

Ruanda biological knowledge of the processes of procreation was extensive. They knew that a single ejaculation could produce pregnancy, that there is a relation between menstruation and fertility, that conception is not prevented during the suckling period, &c. According to their theories, the man's participation in conception was more important than the woman's. The analogy with the sowing of seeds in a field is commonly used by informants. It was pointed out to me that if it is indeed necessary for the seed to be buried in the soil, strength and vitality are unquestionably in the seed rather than in the passive ground.¹⁰

This last theory is important in that it gives a biological basis to the patrilineage principle of descent and to the difference between

¹⁰ Cf. Lestrade, 1955, pp. 85-86.

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rivalry among a man's plural wives and among sisters-in-law constitutes a serious domestic problem. Moreover, there are persistent rumours which have never been effectively squelched that the late queen-mother arranged for the death of her son, the former *mwami*, for political reasons. Maternal tenderness and friendship cannot stand up against the pressures of economic and political self-interest. Moreover, instability is a result, probably an inevitable one, of the very wide powers of superiors over their inferiors. 554 557 578 [595]

Ubukuru, superiority or seniority, is everywhere of the same pattern—in the relationship between the *mwami* and his subjects, between parents and children, between Tutsi and Hutu, between husband and wife. The superior is active, the inferior passive. The superior commands, the other obeys. Out of respect, the inferior waits while the superior drinks first, eats first, walks ahead of him. If there are burdens to carry, it is the inferior who carries them—the Hutu for his Tutsi master, the wife for her husband, the children for their mother. A powerful taboo forbids a Hutu to look on while a prince or a Tutsi eats or drinks. There is no comparable taboo in domestic life, but the husband usually eats alone, or he may invite his wife to join him. Children, always inferiors, always eat afterwards and apart. 554 264 554 [858]

The concept of *ubukuru* as chronological seniority is relevant to changes in social role according to age. The changes of social status for women, from child and adolescent to wife and mother, then to mother-in-law and grandmother, constitute a progression towards independence, power and the other attributes of superiority. For men, there is a progression of approximately the same kind. The boy during childhood and adolescence is of no importance; at marriage, a man is superior to his wife and children, but he remains subordinated to the authority of his father and the lineage chief; if he is clever and wealthy enough to pay for the beer for the ceremony, he will be initiated when he is about forty-five years old, as an *umushingantahe*, a mature man qualified to serve as a judge and councillor. In his old age, when he has become feeble, a man is obliged to retire from active participation in important matters. The principle of increase of power with age is valid throughout the life-span for women. Nevertheless, superiority is not determined by chronological age but by social role. 554 561 562 [885]

To ask for a gift, say the Rundi, is to honour; to give a gift is to like. It is the superior who gives, the inferior who asks. In order to receive, it is necessary to obey, but everything depends on the will and the affection of the superior. He will give if he wants to; if not 431 554

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152 diverts his love to the one that administers it to him—or to look
 545 for magic that will make the husband impotent when he is with
 [832] other women, every sort of vengeance is normal among the wives
 of a polygamist. A Tutsi polygamist would not dare to settle his
 152 wives on one property. He places them on plots as distant from
 564 each other as possible. The Hutu polygamist congratulates himself
 545 that he can put all his wives together in one house. He is not rich,
 hence there are no motives for hatred under his roof. In this the
 Rundi were not unanimous: The Hutu insist that their wives obey
 them without backtalk but that Tutsi wives dominate their
 husbands. Against this idea, the Tutsi protested perhaps too much,
 while the idea evoked a Mona Lisa smile from the Tutsikazi. The
 enquirer was unable to seek verification in the houses themselves.
 There was talk about Tutsi domestic tyrants and a few of them
 were known, but the bulk of the evidence favours the Hutu point
 of view.

562 The contrasts between men and women parallel the Tutsi-Hutu
 case. Women are stronger than men, but clumsy and less agile;
 they are less stable and are less able to hide and control their
 emotions; they are much given to jealousy and competition in
 seeking the favour of the superior; they work for their husbands;
 they ask gifts of them. Although women as women are without
 doubt inferiors, their inferiority by no means excludes the possi-
 bility that character and behaviour will be reversed when they are
 in the roles of superiors.

522 Distinctions between the sexes begin at birth and increase with
 868 maturity. A little boy wears no clothing. His sister, from the first
 day of her life, wears the *ubudede*, a string of beads worn around
 [291] her hips, which later in her life will be added to, especially through
 gifts from her husband. Except for the beads, however, there is
 very little attention paid to sex differences in infancy. Excepting
 [867] among the wealthy, introduction to economic and social responsi-
 858 bilities occurs very early. Children, like any inferiors, must work
 and must obey the instructions and commands of their superiors.
 Boys are in the charge of their fathers and girls of their mothers.
 Apprenticeship begins earlier for girls than for boys. When she is
 three years old, a little girl, Tutsi or Hutu, is already old enough to
 accompany her mother to the fields and follow her about the house.
 At six, she knows how to sweep the yard, do a little work with the
 hoe, and carry on her head a sizeable basket of beans or a large
 gourd of water. At the same age, her brother, particularly among
 the herders, begins at last his apprenticeship with his father. Among
 the Hutu, boys are sometimes instructed by their mother or grand-

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mother how to farm and to carry burdens on their heads. At 12, boys and girls should be able to work well and independently. If not, they are beaten or deprived of their dinner to encourage them to learn. There is, nevertheless, time to play with other children, the boys with other boys, the girls with other girls. 562 868

Moral taboos have no significance before adolescence. Children may eat anything at all, without penalty. A young girl may milk a cow: she is not yet a woman, say the Rundi, she is still like her brother. Brothers and sisters sleep together in the same bed and are covered by the same mat. If sometimes there are sexual experiments, these are not called incest. They are only children, they are not responsible, they cannot sin. At puberty, a young girl is removed from the common bedroom of the children. Boys seem to mature much later than girls. Moreover, the question of the dowry enters to delay their marriage. It is said that girls want to be married very early. By the time they have reached puberty, they have already begun to play with other young girls, each helping the other to develop the private parts to a maximum size in anticipation of the pleasures of the marriage bed. A mother warns her daughter that she must absolutely remain a virgin until her marriage, or, at least, that she does not dare to become pregnant if she has not yet been asked for and paid for. In the past, an unmarried mother-to-be would have been killed and her father's property confiscated. Today, there are illegitimate children, and nobody knows quite what to do with them. (One way in which a disgruntled wife can revenge herself upon her husband is by allowing a grown daughter to become pregnant before she is paid for.) At all events, it is up to the mother of a pubile daughter to watch her carefully. 858 [262] [593] [513] [673] 881 [856] [864] 183 831 178 842 [593]

Very strong taboos forbid all contact between a father and his daughter after she has been weaned, except for mutual greetings and for several minor services which a daughter performs for her father.¹³ It is customary for girls to wear only a skirt while working, and in the past, a young girl might wear nothing at all or only a leopard skin around her hips. A father must avert his eyes if a daughter is working with her bosom exposed. If a father wishes some information about his daughter, or if he wishes to say something to her, he must ask his wife to speak to their daughter. If a young girl is to be punished, it is the mother who will beat her, never the father. The same taboos apply to the father's brothers. All are called *data*, father. Fathers never enter the house in which a married daughter lives with her husband. The explanation offered for these strong taboos to separate father from mature 593 784 [291] [861] [604]

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586 the child she is still nursing but leaves the older children with their
 855 father. Once weaned, the child is sent to live with its father. The paternal grandmother or one of the father's wives will bring it up. If the divorced woman remarries and is again pregnant, she sends [587] the weaned infant to his father with no visible regrets. If she is not pregnant, or if she has occasion to speak of her children by her divorced husband, she will express misgivings, for children are rarely kindly treated by a stepmother. She is also unhappy because she no longer has her daughters to help with the work. Moreover, it is nice to have children in the house so that one will not be lonesome. It happens very often that a woman who has many children will send a two or three-year-old to stay with its grandmother or an aunt who is sterile. Little children are really very much liked.

858 An *umuzungu*, an outsider, may be somewhat confused by the
 862 typical Rundi combination of pragmatic considerations with very
 593 tender sentiments. It seems a little paradoxical that Rundikazi love the infants they are nursing but pay no attention to children who have been weaned, except to wait for the day when they are old enough to work. In effect, weaning ends the only period of privilege and pleasure before full maturity. The life of young people is a long
 858 night of servitude under the exacting supervision of father and
 593 mother. In daily life, children have no importance as persons. The inferiors of their parents, they are treated as inferiors. Excepting in [556] very wealthy families, they do not have enough clothing or blankets against the chill of their mountainous country. Children may go to bed without dinner, if the father and mother have eaten all the food or have simply forgotten about them in the midst of a quarrel or a party. Clever young people, nevertheless, learn how to profit
 593 from the conflict of jurisdiction between the father and the mother. Both have the right to order the children to work. If a son disobeys [861] his father, he will be punished by a beating or by being deprived of his dinner. An indulgent mother may very well give food secretly to her unfortunate child. If a boy disobeys his mother but he has worked well for his father—for example, he has taken good care of the cows, but he has refused to go for firewood for his mother—the father will not allow the mother to harm the boy. She will have to wait for revenge on the boy until her husband is away from home. The son, if he is intelligent, will find a way to make her forget her anger. Or, he may take refuge with his paternal aunt or grandparents, who are obliged to offer him asylum against her anger. A [603] young girl cannot go for protection to her father, and she can avoid her mother's punishments only by putting herself under the

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86 **SOCIALIZATION**--general statements dealing with several aspects of the basic mechanisms of cultural transmission, especially the socialization of impulses and the more informal educational processes. For formal education see 87; for personality and its development see 15.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION
 The Ruanda military structure appears thus to have been in 117
 warlike role an organization for conquering and looting rather
 than for defence. But this warlike function was not its only one
 and perhaps not the most important in the appreciation of many
 Ruanda. Whereas almost all our informants (ninety-eight per
 cent.) still remember the name of the army in which their inzu
 had been incorporated first, only a smaller proportion is able to
 remember certain features concerning exclusively the warlike life.
 Only sixty-eight per cent. still know that *abakoni* were warriors
 whose task was to lay hold of cattle during the battle, sixty-nine
 per cent. that *umudende* was a badge of honour given to those who
 had killed seven enemies during a campaign; just fourteen per
 cent. can define *impotors* as the distinction granted to those who
 had killed fourteen enemies and merely eleven per cent. remember
 that *gucana aruti* (to burn the spears) was a ceremonial to honour
 warriors who had killed twenty-one enemies during an expedition.
 This less extensive knowledge of purely warlike aspects of the
 army is not to be accounted for merely by the fact that one does
 not organise raids now and that an opportunity to kill twenty-one
 enemies during an expedition does not arise frequently. As the
 whole military structure, even in its well-remembered aspects,
 became obsolete at about the same time as wars, the relatively
 poor knowledge of its warlike features suggests that the other
 functions of the armies were felt to be very important. [198]
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(b) Socialization

Every society is much concerned with socializing or 'encultural-
 izing' the younger generation. Ways of life, common abilities,
 values, and beliefs of the group have to be inculcated into children
 in order to make them efficient and conforming participants of
 their own culture. [21]

In Ruanda this process of socialization was formalized for
 Tutsi young men. During the years they spent at the court of the
 king or of a chief, they were systematically given education and
 instruction. Education is that part of a socialization process which
 aims at transmitting the bulk of knowledge and behaviour expected
 from any well-adjusted member of a group. Young Tutsi were
 taught the traditional sports and dances becoming to young noble-
 men, they were trained in poetry and the ability to carry on an
 eloquent and witty conversation. The great traditions of military
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¹¹⁷ Hershkovits, 1942, pp. 33 ff.

118 THE PREMISE OF INEQUALITY IN RUANDA

867 The great traditions of military courage of their forbears were made known to them, and the picture of the ideal Tutsi was impressed upon them.

577 The three main components of that ideal picture were *ubutare*, *ubugabo*, and *itonde*. *Ubutware* was the military courage so important in a group of conquerors. *Ubugabo* meant the quality of being a man (*mugabo*). This included trustworthiness in reference to promises, generosity in treating one's friends well, liberality towards the poor, moral courage to accept one's responsibilities.

[577] In a society where relations of inferiority and superiority were predominantly personal in the sense that authority was rarely abstract (a law, a principle) but generally identified with a person (chief, king, lord, &c.), emphasis was put on fidelity in all interpersonal relationships. *Itonde* could be translated by self-mastery. To lose one's temper, to manifest violent emotions was shameful. Anger, particularly, could not be violently expressed. The demeanour of a Tutsi was always to be dignified, polite, amiable, and a little supercilious. It was taken for granted that only vulgar persons showed off all their emotions. Hutu not being very self-controlled were much impressed by the external dignity of the Tutsi. There

[152] was in the *intore* companies a practical training in self-control. By jeers and scoffing, companions of the young Tutsi as well as older people, tried to make him angry and if he reacted emotionally, he was punished by further jokes. So finally he was able to remain apparently quiet and polite in any circumstances which would have elicited more violent reactions from people not thus trained.

- 86 Instruction aims at communicating a specialized knowledge and at teaching abilities in order to prepare certain individuals to fulfil the specialized tasks particularly useful to their group. The
- 702 Ruanda armies instructed the young Tutsi in becoming experts in war and raiding. Some Tutsi are still proud of the superiority of their strategy over that of the Hima, pastoralists of related origin, who were living a more nomadic life in neighbouring territories.²¹
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564 This socialization process, equipping personalities with qualities required of a nobleman, a courtier, and a warrior, was intended for Tutsi only. Hutu young men were not *intore* and did not become warriors, although Hutu were also members of the armies. But for them it meant being auxiliaries who carried the supplies

²¹ On Hima, see Wilde, 1957.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

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necessary to the warriors during the expeditions, and being liable for various services.

(c) Army and lineage

In its herdsmen's section, an army was constituted of patrilineages rather than individuals. According to 100 per cent. of the informants, the inzu head was the necessary intermediary between the army-chief and the army members of his lineage. He had the important task of apportioning the dues incumbent on the lineage between the different family heads. For instance when the numbering took place, he decided who was going to give, say, the three cows which were due by the lineage as such.

This connexion between the army, a group founded on a wide territorial basis, and the lineage, a group based on kinship, was very significant from two points of view.

Firstly, social cohesion was favoured and strengthened by the integration into one single structure of two systems which embodied different principles of grouping. In some other societies such systems remained independent. In Ruanda they formed a supple and strong network by which each Ruanda was tied to a political structure through a kinship structure.

Secondly, the authority of the inzu head over his kinsmen was limited by his incorporation in the military structure. In some circumstances an inzu member could ignore the authority of his inzu head and with the protection of his army-chief, remain independently in the army. At the numbering of cattle, for instance, he could present his own cattle separately from those of his patrilineage. This was, of course, advantageous for the chief who could claim a proportion of the cattle of the lineage plus a fraction of the cattle of the independent member. The lineage members could also bring a charge against their inzu chief before the army-chief, who could sometimes dismiss him. This limited the power of the lineage head and incited him to remain on good terms at the same time with his army-chief and the members of his inzu. This principle limiting the power of intermediary chiefs by the direct recourse of their subordinates to a superior authority had other applications in the Ruanda political organization. Its function was to reinforce the authority of the superior chief and to protect subordinates by giving them the possibility of resisting

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